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ABSTRACT

A study investigated the attitudes of bilingual (BL) and monolingual (ML) students at an urban high school with a large bilingual education program. The attitudes investigated included: (1) BL attitudes toward Americans; (2) how BLs think they are perceived by Americans; (3) ML attitudes toward BLs; (4) changes in BLs' attitudes toward Americans since arrival in the United States; (5) correlation of the amount of time in the United States and BL attitudes; (6) the nature of BL stereotypes of Americans; and (7) the nature of ML stereotypes of BLs. The 76 subjects included 45 ML program students and 31 BL program students in Vietnamese and Spanish classes. Results showed mixed BL perceptions of MLs, although a large minority felt positively. Vietnamese BLs felt more positively about Americans than did Hispanics, although 11% of the Vietnamese saw Americans in purely negative terms. A substantial minority of both sensed Americans felt negatively about them, and only a small minority predicted Americans would describe them positively. Most BLs felt Americans had mixed feelings about them. BL perceptions of American attitudes were fairly accurate. Most BL attitudes had not changed greatly since arrival, and length of residence did not affect attitudes. BL stereotypes focused on personal attributes; BL stereotypes focused also on language and background. The questionnaire is appended. (MSE)

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THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION:
BILINGUAL AND MONOLINGUAL STUDENTS' ATTITUDES AT A BOSTON HIGH SCHOOL

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The ability of bilingual students to become fully bilingual depends in part on social and psychological factors. Previous to Gardner and Lambert's pioneering work on the importance of these factors, it was assumed that intelligence and an innate "ability for languages" determined both the rate and the success with which an individual acquires a second language. However, the publication of Attitudes and Motivation in Second-Language Learning in 1972, in which Gardner and Lambert summarized 12 years of research on this question, firmly established the importance of attitude and motivation as determining and independent variables in the language learning process. Their studies found that these variables are, in fact, equally as significant as are aptitude and intelligence. Because their work remains the most comprehensive in the field to date, let us summarize their findings briefly here.

Gardner and Lambert, social psychologists, set out to address the central question: why do some people learn languages better and faster than others? After 12 years of research in Canada, they had formulated a sociopsychological theory of second or foreign-language learning: "The learner's ethnocentric tendencies and his attitudes toward the members of the other group are believed to determine how successful he will be, relatively, in learning the new language. His motivation to learn is thought to be determined by his attitudes toward the other group in particular and toward foreign people in general and by his orientation toward the learning task itself." (1) The research that is summarized in their 1972 book was undertaken to test out this theory in other social settings: among French-learners in communities in Louisiana and Maine, where there was a French-speaking community; among French-learners in a

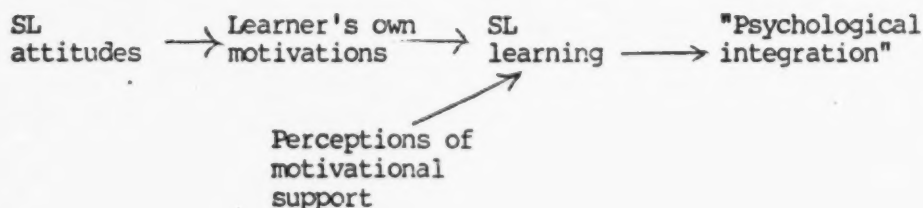
Connecticut town that had no French population at all; and among Philippine English-learners in the Philippines. The results of each study reflected the particular configurations of each social setting in influencing language learners, but the original theory, of the separate roles played by attitude and motivation on the one hand and ability and intelligence on the other were upheld. Ethnocentric attitudes adversely affected achievement, despite students' desire to do well in French, in all three American settings. In addition, it was found that an integrative orientation, the willingness to become a member of another ethnolinguistic group, was positively correlated with second language achievement in the case of the Americans studying French, although not in the Philippine study.

One of the most interesting aspects of Gardner and Lambert's American studies is their work on stereotypes. Their initial findings showed that general ethnocentrism was a more significant factor than attitudes toward French people per se. However, the researchers questioned the validity of their results because of their suspicion that students' answers on the attitude scales about the French might reflect students' desire to appear more democratic and fair toward minority groups than they perhaps were. They therefore designed a more disguised technique in order to discover students' true attitudes toward French people. The "matched guise" procedure enabled them to "get at the more private attitudes and mental images people have of foreign ethnolinguistic groups." (2) The results from this technique showed that the American students of French sampled had generally very negative attitudes toward both European French and French-Americans. Louisiana students who were themselves French-American shared similar negative

stereotypes of French-Americans, while French-American students from Maine had more positive self-images. Although their elaboration of the nature of students' stereotypes is illuminating, it is unfortunate that Gardner and Lambert did not correlate students' stereotypes as revealed by the matched-guise technique with language achievement. The extent of negative stereotyping found did, however, impress the researchers enough to conclude: "One can imagine the difficulties a French-teacher would have in her attempts to penetrate and modify these images. The need to systematically modify these images, distorted as they certainly are, becomes very evident, since negative stereotypes of this sort, if accepted by a majority of students, could sabotage any educational effort to teach the language of the group in question." (3)

Gardner's later work (1978, cited in Genesee et. al, 1983) continued to focus on the affective components of second language learning, and the model that he formulated shows attitudes toward the target language and the target language group affecting motivation, which affects second language learning. The ultimate goal of second language learning, according to Gardner, was more than competence in the second language: it was "psychological integration" with the target group. While Genesee, Rogers, and Holobow (1983) applauded Gardner's focus on the social context, they suggested that an additional variable in was worthy of examination: the intergroup factor. They argued that it is logical to assume that, in social settings where members of the target language group are present, students' perceptions of the target group's reaction to their learning of the target language would affect students' motivation to integrate with the target group. Genesee et. al. conducted a study to test this hypothesis, focusing on the motivational support that learners expected from the target language group. The

results indicated that students' expectations of motivational support from the target language group were "significant and in some cases unique predictors of second language performance". Students' perceptions of the target language group's attitudes toward them were especially influential in contexts which involved direct or active involvement with target language speakers, as opposed to classroom situations. Thus, Genesee, et. al. amended the Gardner model to:



Another researcher to consider the impact of the social context on the second language acquisition process was Schumann (1978). He considered the factors of social distance, "which pertains to the individual as a member of a social group which is in contact with another social group whose members speak another language" and of psychological distance, which "pertains to the individual as an individual." In his analysis of a case study of an English language learner, he maintained that the man's English was restricted to a basic, or communicative, function as a result of his social and psychological distance from English speakers. Based on the assumption that "the greater the social distance between the two (language) groups, the more difficult it is for the members of the 2LL group to acquire the language of the TL group" (4), Schumann identified a list of influential social factors, or issues. These include the degree of political, economic, cultural, and technical dominance of the target language group over the second language learner

group; the integrative pattern of the second language learner group; its cohesiveness, degree of enclosure and size; the degree of cultural congruence of the two groups; the intended length of residence of the second language learner group; and the attitudes of each group toward each other. For each factor, Schumann postulated the most and least optimal situation vis. a vis. language learning. One important aspect of Schumann's schema is the notion that the social context must be viewed dynamically: how the second language learner group views assimilation is important, but so is the desire of the target language group to have them assimilate; the attitudes of the target language group toward the second language group may be just as important as the attitudes of the second language group toward the target language group. The psychological variables that Schumann identified as being key in determining the psychological distance of the second language learner are: resolution of language shock and culture shock, motivation, and ego permeability.

Using findings of Schumann, Brisk and Wurzel (1979), two bilingual researchers, reported on an integrated bilingual kindergarden program which addressed these issues. Bilingual and monolingual children participated in an integrated bilingual curriculum model. The researchers maintained that the model was significant because "positive attitudes can be promoted by integrating high and low status language communities" and that "positive attitudes toward a language community facilitate the learning of that language" and that "perceived status of a language and language community by parents and teachers will affect the child's motivation to learn that language."

It is refreshing to see these issues discussed in the context of bilingual programs, since most of the literature on bilingual education

focuses on cognitive, linguistic, and pedagogical issues. Yet social factors cannot be ignored, if one considers Schumann's assertion that where social and psychological distance is sufficiently great, additional language instruction has little effect on linguistic development. If this is indeed the case, it is incumbent on bilingual educators to take a closer look at the social contexts in which bilingual programs occur.

It was toward this end that the present research was undertaken. Bilingual (BL) and monolingual (ML) students at an urban high school with a large bilingual program were surveyed with a questionnaire, and their responses were analysed to develop a profile of student attitudes. The research was designed to answer the following questions:

1. How positive or negative are BL students' attitudes toward Americans?
2. How positively or negatively do BL students believe they are perceived by Americans?
3. How positive or negative are ML students' attitudes toward BL students?
4. Are BL students' attitudes to Americans more or less positive than were their attitudes prior to arrival in the U.S?
5. Does length of time in the U.S. correlate in any way with the BL students' attitudes?
6. What is the nature of BL stereotypes of Americans?
7. What is the nature of ML stereotypes of BL students?

It should be stressed that the present research should be viewed as a preliminary step assessing the attitudes of this particular population. In order to accurately measure bilingual (BL) attitudes toward Americans, and monolingual (ML) program students' attitudes toward BL students, an appropriate attitude scale would have to reflect the kinds of concerns, issues, and vocabulary of the student population in question. The

questionnaires that were distributed to BL and ML students as part of this research were designed to elicit students attitudes in their own words. The vocabulary generated from the present research, therefore, might be used as the basis of a more accurate instrument with which to measure student attitudes.

METHOD

The Subjects

The subjects attend Brighton High School, a local Boston high school which brings together working-class Black, white (many of them the children of Greek and Italian immigrants), Hispanic, Vietnamese, Chinese, and Cambodian students. Although part of the racially troubled Boston Public Schools, overt racial violence has largely bypassed Brighton High School. Previous research that I conducted with middle school students in the same district revealed, however, that many of the students had personally witnessed acts of racial violence in their neighborhoods (Zanger, 1983). And although Brighton itself has had a history of quiet and peaceful racial integration, there have been several brutal attacks on Vietnamese families in the last several years by white youths, including the murder of a young Vietnamese college student.

Brighton High School has had a bilingual program functioning for more than ten years, originally Chinese and Spanish, now Spanish and Vietnamese. There are currently 130 students in the Vietnamese program and 70 in the Spanish program. Together, bilingual program students comprise more than a fifth of the student body. Students in the bilingual program take from one to four major subjects in their native language, study English as a Second Language, and are integrated for all

non-academic subjects into the monolingual program.

The 76 subjects who participated in the survey were all students in U.S. History classes at Brighton High School. The 31 ML program students were juniors and seniors who ranged in age from 16 to 19. Unfortunately, it was not possible to get an ethnic breakdown of the monolingual program students; it is probable that they included both Black and white students, and a few mainstreamed linguistic minority students as well. The 45 BL program subjects were students in Vietnamese and Spanish classes in U.S. history that include a broader age range. The 18 Hispanic students ranged in age from 14 to 19; their time in the U.S. varied from 4 months to their whole lives. A majority of the Hispanic students were Puerto Rican, but they also included students from Peru, Cuba, Guatemala, and Mexico. The average age of the 27 Vietnamese students sampled was somewhat older, from 16 to 21. The Vietnamese BL students had been in the United States anywhere from 2 months to 3 years.

Procedure

The students' U.S. history teachers were asked to administer a short questionnaire (see appendices A and B) and ask that their students take it seriously. On the questionnaire itself was an explanation to students that Brighton High School students' opinions were being studied by a student from Boston University, who asked for their cooperation. Students were also asked not to give their names. The questionnaire distributed to ML students asked them to give three words that they would use to describe bilingual students. Three diversionary questions about describing freshmen, seniors, and middle school students were also included. From the experiences of Gardner and Lambert, I was somewhat apprehensive that the ML students might hide their negative feelings for appearances, but this turned out not to be the case.

A separate questionnaire was administered to the BL students, asking them to choose 3 words to describe each of the following: their impressions of Americans previous to their arrival, their current impressions of Americans; and the way they think American students would describe bilingual students. The questionnaires were administered by their U.S. history teachers, all native speakers. The questionnaire was written in simple English and was originally intended for an upper level E.S.L. class. However, it was decided that a BL U.S. history class would provide a sample with wider variation vis. a vis. length of stay, and that variable seemed worth examining. In retrospect, the decision to switch to U.S. history classes was a poor one, for some students' low English proficiency limited the usefulness of their responses. Although the BL teachers were asked to help the students understand the questionnaire and put their answers into English, this was clearly not sufficient in some cases. The reason that the BL sample size varies in some of the analyses below is that some student responses had to be discounted because they were unintelligible. One of the teachers also mentioned that she thought that the results would be more valid had the questionnaire been administered in the students' native language. I concur, and would suggest that future studies of student attitudes should be in the native language of the students or, if in English, administered only to students in upper E.S.L. levels.

Once the responses were collected, all the words chosen by the Hispanic and Vietnamese students were compiled into lists according to linguistic group. Two Hispanic BL teachers and one Vietnamese BL teacher and one Vietnamese guidance counselor were asked to rate each word chosen by students from their linguistic group. They classified each word into

one of the following categories: positive, negative, neutral/descriptive, or unclear (see appendices C and D for copies of the teachers' ratings).

After the words were categorized by the BL teachers, the data was analysed in order to answer the 7 research questions (see above). To determine the answers of Questions 1 through 5, each student was assigned to a category for each of the three questions, on the basis of their three-word response to each question. A student whose response words to a question were classified as all positive, or a mixture of positive and neutral, was classified "positive"; a student whose words were all negative, or a mixture of negative and neutral, was classified "negative"; a student whose responses included both positive and negative words was classified "mixed"; and a student with all neutral responses was classified "neutral". Frequency distributions and histograms were drawn up on the basis of these categories. The Chi-squares that were computed to test the statistical significance of the differences in distribution between MLs and BLs and between Vietnamese and Hispanics were found to be not reliable due to the low frequencies of many of the cells, and are therefore not included here. The analysis of question 5, about the relationship of length of stay and attitude, was done using a reliable chi-square. To answer Questions 6 and 7, regarding the content of students' stereotypes, all the words generated by students to question 3 on the ML questionnaire and question 2 on the BL were analysed and compared.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

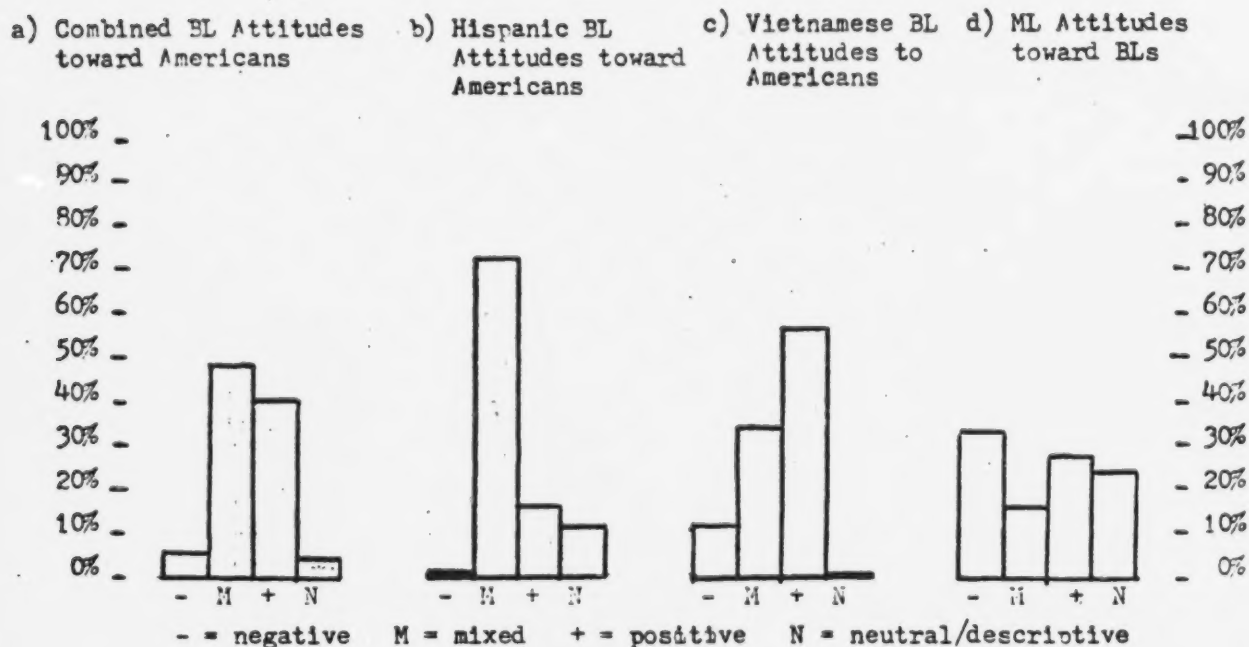
Question 1: How positive or negative are BL students' attitudes toward Americans?

The BL students' attitudes toward Americans are summarized in Table

Table 1: BL students' attitudes toward Americans

	negative	mixed	positive	neutral
Combined BL: (n=45)	6%	49%	40%	4%
Hispanic BL: (n=18)	0%	72%	17%	11%
Vietnamese BL: (n=27)	11%	33%	56%	0%

Figure 1: BL and ML attitudes toward each other:



1 and Figure 1. If, as Gardner and Lambert maintain, a key factor in determining students' success in learning another language is their attitude toward the speakers of that language, then the finding that over half of the BL students at Brighton High School have mixed feelings may be significant. How are we to interpret the 49% of BL students who described Americans in both positive and negative terms? On the one hand, this might be a balanced and realistic appraisal of some of the differences that students have encountered among Americans. Using this

interpretation, the picture that emerges seems fairly encouraging, since relatively few of the BL students characterized Americans in completely negative terms, and 40% felt positively about them. On the other hand, the mixed responses may reflect a profound ambivalence that could hinder them in their attempts to learn English or to integrate into monolingual American settings such as monolingual classes outside the bilingual program.

Table 1 reveals a striking difference between the way the Hispanic and the Vietnamese students view Americans. Over half of the Vietnamese view Americans in completely positive terms, although 11% view Americans very negatively. One wonders if the English achievement of these two groups of Vietnamese students is as divergent and as extreme as are their attitudes. The Hispanics, on the other hand, show an overwhelmingly mixed attitude toward Americans. Although none were entirely negative, a mere 17% had completely positive attitudes toward Americans, and an impressive 72% had mixed feelings. In light of Gardner and Lambert's hypothesis, it would be interesting to know if the Hispanics' ambivalence and the Vietnamese's positive attitudes were reflected in their degree of English proficiency or in their willingness to interact with Americans.

In interpreting the differences that have appeared between Vietnamese and Hispanic attitudes, at least one cultural difference should be taken into consideration. According to one of the Vietnamese teachers who administered the questionnaire, it is not customary for Vietnamese people to express negativity about others unless thoroughly provoked. Whether or not this philosophy affects what students actually think, that is, their attitudes, or just what they feel comfortable putting on paper, is unclear.

Question 2: How positively or negatively do BL students believe they are perceived by American students?

The figures presented in Table 2 are much more disturbing than those in Table 1. Nearly one third of the bilingual students sampled believed that Americans saw them in completely negative terms. Vietnamese and Hispanics differed only slightly in this opinion (35% and 28% respectively). Because an even greater percentage believed that Americans have a mixed view of them, this leaves only a small minority of BL students who feel that they are wholeheartedly accepted by Americans. If, as Genessee et. al. maintain, language learners' expectations of support from the target language community is an important component of their success in the second language, then these figures suggest that the majority of Brighton High School's bilingual students face a serious obstacle to becoming bilingual: the feeling of rejection by their monolingual peers.

When one compares the BL attitudes toward Americans (Table 1) and BL perceptions of ML attitudes toward them (Table 2) there is an overall shift toward negativity from Table 1 to Table 2. The most dramatic shift occurs in the case of the Vietnamese BLs, who drop from 56% positive in their attitudes toward Americans to 23% positive in their perceptions of Americans' attitudes toward them. Thus, many of the Vietnamese BL students hold a fairly polarized set of attitudes: they like and respect Americans on the one hand, but feel discriminated against and rejected by them on the other. An analysis of the content of their attitudes (see Question 6) shows that many of their positive attitudes toward Americans are, in fact, attributes of the society in general (e.g. "freedom" was the most frequently mentioned word by the Vietnamese). So it is only some of the Vietnamese who could be characterized as liking people who

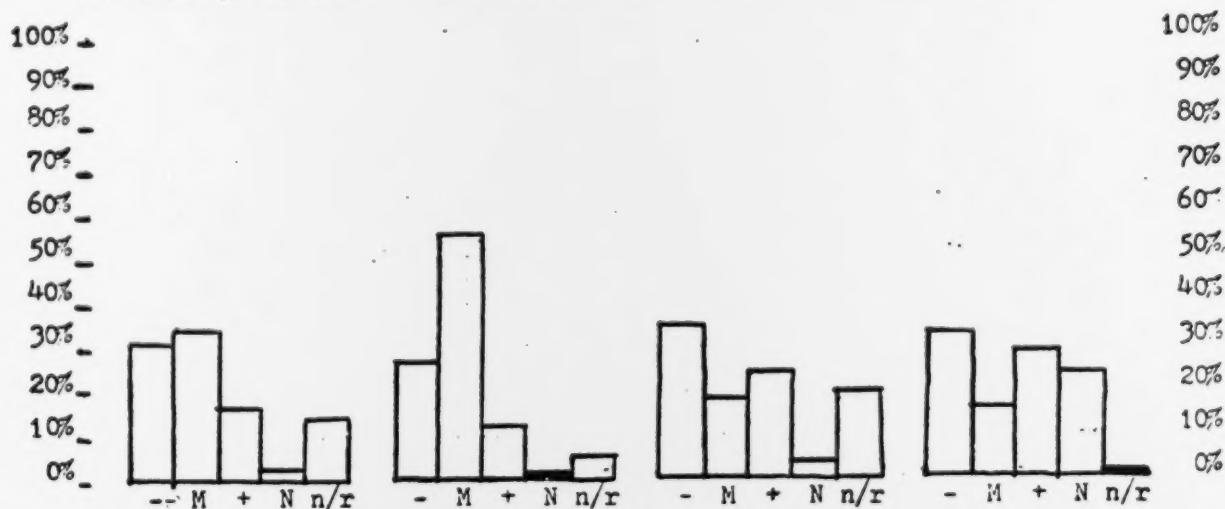
they feel do not like them back. It is, however, a deeply disturbing

Table 2: BL perceptions of ML students' attitudes toward them:

	negative	mixed	positive	neutral	no response
Combined BL (n=44)	32%	34%	18%	2%	14%
Hispanic BL (n=18)	28%	56%	11%	0%	5%
Vietnamese BL	35%	19%	23%	4%	19%

Table 2: BL perceptions of ML attitudes, and ML attitudes

a) Combined BL Perceptions of Americans' Attitudes	b) Hispanic BL Perceptions of Amer. Attitudes	c) Vietnamese BL Perceptions of Amer. Attitudes	d) ML Attitudes toward BLs
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- = negative M = mixed + = positive N = neutral n/r = no response
situation, especially if one speculates on the psychological implications for students living in an environment where they feel so unwanted. One wonders what kind of effect these perceptions of rejection have on students' self-concept. In further research, it would be interesting to explore students' attitudes toward self and their own ethnic group and correlate these with perceptions of Americans' attitudes toward them.

Question 3: How positive or negative are ML students' attitudes toward BL students?

What we seem to have here is a ML student group that is fairly split in their opinions of bilingual students. There seems to be a substantial hard core of racists, with nearly one third of the students reporting completely negative views of their BL peers, but a nearly equal number saw bilingual students in extremely positive terms. This group appears to be more polarized in their views than the BLs, since only 16% had mixed opinions. In other words, the majority of the ML students tended to see BLs as all good or all bad.

Table 3: ML students' attitudes toward BL students

	negative	mixed	positive	neutral
ML (n=31)	32%	16%	29%	23%

How does this profile compare with the BL perceptions of ML attitudes toward them (see Figure 2)? Are BL students paranoid, or do they perceive the situation fairly accurately? From comparing the figures, one would have to conclude that the BL perceptions of their peers' attitudes toward them are fairly accurate. The most striking point is that 32% of the BL students believed that MLs saw them negatively and, in fact, exactly 32% of the MLs expressed negative opinions about BLs! Furthermore, the 34% of BL students who believed that Americans were mixed in their views of BLs (and especially the 56% of Hispanics who felt this way) must also be counted as accurate, if one takes the view that a group in which equal numbers express positive and negative opinions can be said to be mixed in their views. An analysis of the content of the BL "mixed" category (see Question 5) reveals that this is, in fact, how some BL students perceived the situation. For example,

in their descriptions of Americans, some BL students described American students as "friendly — some are not"; "some like Puerto Ricans".

Although BL students were fairly accurate in their perceptions of Americans' negative attitudes toward them, they did underestimate the extent to which some American students felt positively toward BLs. While only 11% of the Hispanics and 23% of the Vietnamese felt that Americans saw them in completely positive terms, a full 29% of American MLs had only positive things to say about their BL peers. In addition, some of the ML descriptors of BLs that were not rated as positive terms (e.g. "homesick", "confused") could be said to express a sympathetic understanding of BLs.

Another interesting comparison (see Figure 1) is to look at ML descriptions of BLs as compared to BL descriptions of MLs. Clearly, MLs dislike BLs to a much greater extent than BLs dislike them. And BL students, especially Hispanics, seem to see MLs in more complex terms (both positive and negative) than MLs tend to view them (either positive or negative). It is probable that by virtue of living in the United States, more BL students have had more contact with Americans than ML students have had with BLs. Thus, the BLs may have a more realistic understanding of MLs than vice versa. Further research might test out this hypothesis.

Still another interesting difference is how few objective, or neutral descriptors were elicited from the BLs as compared to the MLs. This may be due, in part, to the degree that MLs tended to focus on describing BLs by their language and national backgrounds. BLs mentioned language not at all in their descriptions of Americans. And the majority of descriptors that they did use tended to be clearly judgemental. This

might suggest that the issues surrounding culture shock have not yet been resolved.

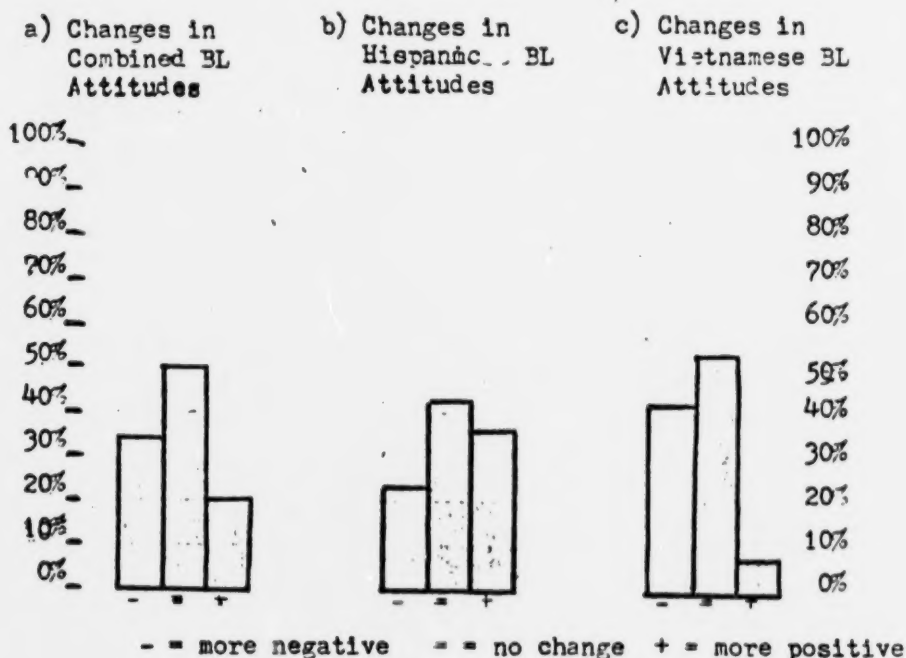
Question 4: Are BL students' attitudes toward Americans more or less positive than were their attitudes prior to arrival in the U.S.?

The majority of BL students have not changed their attitudes significantly in tone since coming to the U.S., although no student wrote exactly the same three words to describe Americans on questions 1 and 2

Table 4: Changes in BL attitudes since arrival

	more negative	no change	more positive
Combined BL (n=41)	34%	51%	20%
Hispanic BL (n=14)	22%	43%	36%
Vietnamese BL	41%	52%	7%

Figure 3: Changes in BL attitudes since arrival



(attitudes prior to arrival and present attitudes). Thus, some students who felt positively about Americans before they came still feel positively, although they like different things than they expected.

Comparing the Vietnamese and the Hispanic figures, we find vastly different experiences. While the largest proportion in each group showed no change, the changes that did occur were practically opposite for the two groups. 36% of the Hispanics reported more positive attitudes since coming, compared to only 7% of the Vietnamese, while 41% of the Vietnamese found things worse they had anticipated, as compared to 22% of the Hispanics. This reversal is especially surprising given the profiles of present attitudes among the two groups, with the Vietnamese so much more positive (see Table 1). Any comparisons between the two groups must be tentative, however, since the sample size of the Hispanic group (14) on this question is so small that it is difficult to be statistically accurate.

One must be cautious in evaluating what these figures in fact mean. The Vietnamese students' disillusionment may possibly reflect exaggeratedly unrealistic preconceptions about life in the United States. The difference that shows up between the Hispanic and Vietnamese figures could have occurred if the Hispanic BL students had heard more negative things about the U.S. prior to coming here than had the Vietnamese.

Question 5: Does length of time in the U.S. correlate in any way with the BL students' attitudes?

Table 5: BL students' attitudes and length of residency

A statistical analysis showed that BL students with more than a year of residency in the U.S. were no more likely to express a positive attitude toward Americans than were BL students who had been here less

than a year ($\chi^2 = 0.151$ with 1 df, statistically insignificant at the .05 level). Because of the low numbers in some of the categories, it was necessary to collapse negative, mixed, and neutral into one category and contrast it with the positive category to obtain a reliable chi-square.

Table 5: Length of residency and attitudes of BL students

		negative	mixed	neutral	positive
	Less than 1 yr.	3	8	0	9
Combined BL (n=43)	1-3 years	0	12	2	9

Question 6: What is the nature of BL students' stereotypes of Americans?

Table 6: BLs' Most Frequently Used Words for Americans

The BL students tended to focus on personal qualities when describing Americans. Only a few of the words mentioned refer to physical appearance or intelligence. BL students liked many qualities about Americans, for they described them as honest, lovely, happy, polite, cheerful, kind, helpful, neat, clean, joyful, support(ive), nice, friendly, hardworkers, and not fighters. On the negative side, they were seen as impolite, no emotion, just want fun, dirty, lazy, private, lonely, crazy, using too much alcohol and drugs, and fighters. Several students specifically mentioned American racism: the words prejudiced, racist, and discrimination were used. American punctuality was also noted by students. A number of the favorable descriptors referred to aspects of American society, not necessarily to American people per se: freedom, democracy, self-rule, good life, money. And some students characterized Americans by their predilection for canned food and rock music.

An examination of the most frequently chosen words in Table 6

reveals that Vietnamese and Hispanic EL students did not use any of the

Table 6: Most frequently mentioned words used by ELs to describe MLs

Combined EL:	Hispanic EL:	Vietnamese EL:
freedom (11)	good (7)	freedom (11)
on time (8)	friendly (5)	on time (8)
good (7)	nice (5)	honest (4)
friendly (5)	rock music (4)	support (4)
nice (5)	gentleman (4)	discrimination (4)
honest (4)	canned food (3)	polite (3)
support (4)	crazy (3)	cheerful (3)
discrimination (4)		helpful (3)
gentleman (4)		good life (3)
rock music (4)		
canned food (3)		
crazy (3)		
cheerful (3)		
helpful (3)		
good life (3)		
polite (3)		

same words to describe Americans. In fact, of all the 111 words generated by students in the two groups only 4 of the same words were mentioned by students from both groups: good, ugly, kind and helpful. Was this lack of overlap due to mere vocabulary choice or can it be attributed to differences in attitude? In some cases, vocabulary did not happen to coincide, although the meaning was similar, such as "polite" (Vietnamese) and "gentleman" (Hispanic). And an analysis of the positive

qualities attributed to Americans by both groups shows them to be quite similar. The negative qualities mentioned by each group are rather scattered, except for a cluster of five Vietnamese and a two Hispanics who mentioned words like "discrimination" "prejudice" and "racist." The most noteworthy difference between the two groups seems to be the tendency of Vietnamese students, not matched by the Hispanics, to describe the positive aspects of American society, especially the government. This is hardly surprising considering that the majority of the Vietnamese, but not the Hispanics, are political refugees.

Question 7: What is the nature of ML stereotypes of BL students?

Compared to the BL students' descriptions of them, the ML students focused much more on BL students' linguistic and national backgrounds. Many more of them also chose words to describe BL students' mental abilities than vice versa. BL students were described as smart, brilliant, intelligent, bright, "to study" and "to learn". The personal qualities that ML students liked about BLs were that they were perceived as being: creative, nice, friendly, helpful, calm, sensitive, mature, ambitious, well-behaved, hard-working, and quiet. Some ML students also seemed to be sensitive to BL students' special problems as immigrants, for they used the words: confused, homesick, struggling, and "don't give up". One cluster of attributes may reflect the cohesiveness of the BL students: loyal, confined, "groups of their own."

The most striking thing about the negative words used by ML students was how few of them pinpoint a specific negative quality or attribute. There is, instead, a long list of perjorative words that seem to reflect general, overall hostility toward BL students: sickening, nauseating, notorious, preposterous, jerks, intolerable, overprivileged,

troublemakers, hyper, immature, infantile, uncivilized. Specific objections that were mentioned included: overprivileged, noisy, talkative, self-centered, uninterested, indifferent, greasy.

Of course, we do not know whether the MLs' descriptions refer to bilingual students in general, or specifically to the Vietnamese or the Hispanics. Further studies might explore this question. Judging from the hostility sensed by both Hispanics and Vietnamese, however, it is probable that many of the negative words applied to both groups.

Table 7: Most frequently used words used by MLs to describe BLs

smart (5)
quiet (4)
noisy (3)
no English (3)
ignorant (3)

How accurately were the BL students able to perceive ML stereotypes about them? Let us compare the words BL students guessed that MLs would have used to describe them (question 3 on the BL questionnaire) with the words that the ML actually chose question 3 on the ML questionnaire). First of all, there is a whole category of words expressing the general dislike sensed by the BL students: don't want, hate, don't like, disagree, mean, bad, rivalry, disputes, discrimination. These words seem to accurately characterize some of the general negativity that was, in fact, expressed by a third of the ML students toward them. Secondly, there are a number of other attributes, both positive and negative, that the BL students accurately predicted that the MLs would use to describe them: "without education" (rude), independent, "get trouble" (troublemakers), friendly, helpful, hardworking, smart, and poor English.

The most frequently mentioned word that the BL students predicted the MLs would describe them as was "noisy" and it indeed turned out to be the third most frequently mentioned word by the MLs. On the other hand, a number of BLs thought that the MLs thought of them as dumb or stupid, but only one ML did, in fact, mention this as a characteristic. Other words that BLs predicted would be used by MLs to describe them but went unmentioned were: dirty, not honest, pickpocket, drunk, honest, happy, on time, good food, and salsero.

CONCLUSIONS

Let us first summarize our findings. BL students perceived MLs in overwhelmingly mixed terms, although a large minority felt positively toward them. The Vietnamese BLs tended to feel much more positively about Americans than did Hispanics, although more Vietnamese also saw Americans in more purely negative terms than did Hispanics. A substantial minority of both groups sensed that Americans felt negatively about them, and only a small minority predicted that Americans would describe them in positive terms. The largest proportion of BL students felt that Americans had mixed views of them.

The BL perceptions of American attitudes turned out to be fairly accurate, although their predictions did not reflect the substantial minority of Americans that felt very positively toward BLs. The MLs were split amongst those who viewed BLs favorably and those who viewed them negatively, with smaller minorities expressing mixed and neutral views.

The attitudes of most BLs had not changed in tone since their arrival, although a large proportion of Vietnamese saw Americans in more negative terms than they had expected to. Length of residency did not seem to affect how positively or negatively students felt about Americans.

The content of BL stereotypes of Americans focused on their personal qualities, both positive and negative. The most frequently mentioned complaint was discrimination. A number of Vietnamese mentioned positive qualities about American society per se. The ML stereotypes focused on language and background, as well as personal traits. Except for intelligence, which was a characteristic many MLs used to describe BLs, many of the positive traits MLs attributed to BLs corresponded with positive traits BLs attributed to them. The negative characteristics generated by the MLs, however, seemed to reflect more of an overall hostility than criticism of specific traits.

What are the implications of these findings in terms of the education of the students sampled? Applying the previously cited research on attitudes and motivation in second language learning to the social context of Brighton High School's bilingual education program, we must conclude that it is hardly an optimal learning environment for the bilingual students. A majority of BL students lack both positive attitudes toward Americans and the expectation of support from their ML peers, two factors which the research suggests can have great influence on the language learning process. Of particular concern is how few students felt accepted by their ML peers. Genesee et. al.'s research suggests that this lack of expected support might have a particularly damaging effect on the BL students' English development and on their willingness to actively participate in an integrated situation, as in a mainstreamed ML class. Perhaps even more worrisome is the negative effect on BLs' self-image that one might expect from the constant exposure to American hostility. The Vietnamese students seem to be in a particularly vulnerable situation from a psychological point of view:

56% think very favorably of Americans, while 35% believe Americans to be unfavorable to them. On the other hand, their positive attitude toward Americans may well prove very helpful to them in their efforts to learn English, according to Gardner's model.

The picture painted by the statistics is not entirely grim, however. For one thing, the extent to which BL students expressed mixed views of Americans may be a realistic adjustment to the diversity that they encounter. One would worry about the sanity of any BL student who managed to entirely ignore the racism that they would be bound to encounter at Brighton High School at some point. Secondly, the findings are helpful in that they are suggestive of an appropriate course of action. One of the most striking things about the picture that emerges is the sensitivity of BL students toward ML students' negativity. If this latter factor is as important as Genessee et. al. suggest, it would seem incumbent on the school to address the racism of a substantial minority of its ML students in some way. At the very least, these students should be discouraged from expressing their negativity. A more ambitious approach might be to attempt to change their attitudes. Given the fact that they are a minority, perhaps the majority of ML students who have either mixed or positive feelings about bilinguals could be influential with their peers.

A second strategy for counteracting the influence of the minority of MLs who feel negatively toward BLs might be to take advantage of the substantial minority of MLs who feel very positively toward BL students. This would seem especially appropriate, since the BLs underestimated the proportion of sympathetic MLs. Recalling Brisk and Wurzel's assertion that "positive attitudes can be promoted by integrating high and low status language communities", it would seem that some sort of

program could be implemented to increase interaction between the BLs and those MLs who feel most favorably toward them. Such a program might have a number of positive effects. It would undoubtedly increase the BL students' expectation of support from the ML community. Secondly, it might also improve BL attitudes toward MLs, which was shown by Gardner and Lambert to have an important effect on language learning. Thirdly, increasing positive interactions between ML and BL students in a supportive environment might enable both groups to begin to find out more about each other and about themselves, by exploring their cultural similarities and differences. It was noteworthy that so few of the descriptors from both groups focused on actual cultural differences that students might encounter, such as the "on time" description of Americans mentioned by some of the Vietnamese students. Growth in cultural awareness can be both educational and exciting, especially for students at the age of questioning their own cultural and psychological identity.

The present findings suggest several areas that might prove fruitful for future research. First, further testing of the hypotheses of Gardner and Lambert's and of Genesee et. al. in the context of American bilingual programs seems called for. That is, how do the attitudes expressed in the current research correlate with students' English achievement? Secondly, other variables that should be looked at as well: attitudes toward the students' own ethnic group and degree of interaction with the ML community. Thirdly, some of the differences that emerged between the Vietnamese and Hispanic groups might be studied more. Finally, it would be valuable to evaluate the efficacy of programs that attempt to modify attitudes, either among BL or ML students.

Methodologically, the present research has implications for future

efforts. Sample sizes should be larger to allow for accurate statistical analyses. Questionnaires should be in the native language of BL students. More accurate scales, such as a semantic differential, can be drawn up on the basis of the vocabulary elicited from students. In addition to rating the other group on each of the items, however, students should also be asked to rate how positive or negative they regard each item. Finally, one must consider the significance of the large number of students who were shown in the present study to hold mixed views about the other group. This finding suggests the complexity of racial/ethnic attitudes. And as such, further exploration using an appropriate methodology seems called for. A more qualitative approach, such as the one Robert Coles has used in studying black/white issues, might help explain the complexity that clearly underlies the formation of social attitudes and, in doing so, give us a handle on how these might be changed.

. APPENDIX A .

A student at Boston University is studying the opinions of high school students.

Please take 5 minutes to answer these questions honestly. There are no right or wrong answers. It is important that you give your own opinions. You do not have to give your name.

1. How long have you lived in the United States? _____

2. Before you came here, what did you think Americans were like? Write 3 words:

3. What do you now think Americans are like? Write 3 words that you would use to describe Americans:

4. What do you think American students think about bilingual students? Write 3 words that you think Americans would use to describe the bilingual students in this school.

5. Where were you born? _____

6. How old are you? _____

APPENDIX B

A student at Boston University is studying the opinions of high school students.

Please take 5 minutes to answer these questions honestly. There are no right or wrong answers. It is important that you write your own opinions. You do not have to give your name.

1. Write 3 words that you would use to describe the 9th graders at Brighton High School:

2. Write 3 words that you would use to describe the seniors at Brighton High School:

3. Write 3 words that you would use to describe the bilingual students at Brighton High School:

4. Write 3 words that you would use to describe middle school students.

5. What is your age?_____

Appendix C

WORDS USED BY VIETNAMESE STUDENTS TO DESCRIBE AMERICANS (pre/post-arrival)

POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	NEUTRAL	MIXED
freedom	discrimination	on time	kind (not often)
honest	no emotion	tall	polite (not everyone)
support	no good	rich	joyful (almost white people)
polite	ugly	supernation	clean (almost white people)
cheerful	lazy	superpower	someplace's very dirty
helpful	prejudice	serious	
good life	bad	in a hurry	
happy	just want fun	big	
self-rule	so freedom	money	
good	dirty		
kind	unlove		
neat	impolite		
lovely	life's money		
clean			
joyful			
clear			
strong			
justice			
luxurious			
liberty			
smart			

wonderful

• beautiful

good people

straight

what beautiful country!

good education

wealth

powerful

DISCOUNTED: empire, expand, thinkin' a job, emotion, no emotion

Appendix D

WORDS USED BY HISPANIC STUDENTS TO DESCRIBE AMERICANS (pre/post arrival)

POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	NEUTRAL	MIXED
good	crazy	rock music	some are friendly
friendly	use too much drugs + alcohol	can food	some are good
nice	fights	private	some are stupid
gentleman	ugly		some like Puerto Ricans
hard workders	racist		cheap - but nice
don't fight	dress funny		some are gentlemen
handsome	prejudiced		friendly (some are not)
democracy	pigs		
intelligent	mean		
helpful	lonely		
kind	strange		
smart	racial		
workers	selfish		
responsible	mean (cheap)		
open minded	not friendly		
pacifist	violent		
not cheap			
nice cities			
good looking			

DISCOUNTED: imported, American girls, the work

Appendix E

WORDS USED BY MONOLINGUALS TO DESCRIBE BILINGUAL STUDENTS

POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	NEUTRAL	MIXED
smart	noisy	nice tans	average
loyal	troublemakers	no English	
brilliant	use better razors	Spanish	
struggling	ignorant	Chinese	
speak Spanish better than me	immature	Spanish	
creative	hyper	Puerto Rican	
nice	greasy	Cuban	
don't give up	notorious	clothing colorful	
friendly	stupid	language	
helpful	stupid	no trouble	
to learn	rude	OK	
to study	infantile	foreign	
calm	uncivilized	different	
sensitive	preposterous	independent	
intelligent	overpriveledged	not bad	
mature	jerks	trying to be same	
ambitious	jokes	need to improve English	
well-behaved	lack of sharing	don't know much English	
hard working	self-centered	quiet	
bright	intolerable	I don't understand them	
	sickening	ununderstandable	
	nauseating	talkative	
	uninterested	groups of their own	

indifferent

confined

homesick

confused

FOOTNOTES

1. Gardner, Robert, and Lambert, Wallace, Attitudes and Motivation in Second Language Learning, p. 3.
2. Ibid., p. 139.
3. Ibid., p. 140.
4. Schumann, John H., "The Pidginization Hypothesis", in Evelyn Hatch (ed.), Second Language Acquisition, p. 261.
5. Brisk, Maria, and Wurzel, Jaime, "An Integrated Bilingual Curriculum Model."

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3. Genesee, Fred, Rogers, Pier, and Holobow, Naomi, "The Social Psychology of Second Language Learning: Another Point of View", in Language Learning, vol. 33, no. 2, 1983.
4. Schumann, John, "The Pidginization Hypothesis", in Hatch, Evelyn (ed.), Second Language Acquisition, Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers, Inc., 1978.
5. Zanger, Virginia, "Black, White, and Hispanic in Boston," unpublished, 1983.